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853 in the gardens and the baby cries for milk, the infant may
854 be suckled by another woman, if one with milk happens to be present. But this is not done normally, and usually only the mother nurses her child.

852 Within a few weeks after the birth a "doctor" is called to
789 make "medicine" which will make the newly-born infant
751 strong. In Lesu, the doctor for this kind of medicine was the elderly man Tsengali, and this is his medicine. He stands by the *purpura* tree and recites the following spell:—

Strong, strong, strong, strong.
Strong head,
Strong arm,
Strong breast,
Strong stomach,
Strong leg.

The spell contains the wish that each part of the infant's body mentioned become strong. As soon as he has finished his recitation Tsengali takes a small leaf from the tree, chews it, and spits the chewed leaf into a bigger leaf from the same tree, which he folds over it as a cup. Then he pours a little water over the chewed leaf and gives it to the infant to drink. This "medicine" is supposed to have a prophylactic value and prevent the infant from having sores and other ills, and in general to make him a strong child.
[853] There is some idea, which I was not able to understand very clearly, that the mother's milk may become contaminated by the food she eats, and make the infant ill. This "medicine" is supposed to remove any bad effect resulting from impurity in the mother's milk. In discussing this idea, one native who had worked on a white man's plantation told me that a white woman gives her child goat's milk, or tinned milk, to avoid contamination from her own milk. Tsengali is paid two or three strings of *tsera* (shell currency) every time he makes the "medicine."

853 Now that the proper medicine has been made, everyone

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of eight boys, ranging in age approximately between nine and eleven. Six of the boys were of the Hawk moiety and two of the Eagle. They all came from that section of Lesu known as Tagam, formerly another village separate from Lesu.[1]

PREPARATIONS

The initial preparations are begun about ten months in advance, when the garden magician makes taro magic, and the rain magician rain magic, in order to ensure a good crop. At this same time arrangements are made for the purchase of the pigs for the future feast. The men who will display *malanggans* are also busy superintending their carving. These and the dancing-masks are begun four or five months before the rites are held,[2] and the work is done in a secluded place, away from all observation.

The first communal work occurs about a month before the boys are circumcised, and consists of the building of the enclosure in which they will later be secluded. All the men and boys of Lesu and some from the neighbouring villages of Ambwa and Lagania assist in this work. The men from Ambwa reach the hamlet of Penguli (in Lesu) early in the morning, where they are joined by the Lesu men. They are all in a gay mood. With the *kerapo* leaves[3] stuck in their hair and in their belts, about fifty of them go to a clearing a short distance from the hamlet of Penguli. Here they cut down the bamboo trees and then crack the trunks at the circular rings with their knives,[4] working with enthusiasm and zest. Then, placing the bamboo trunks on their shoulders, they walk down to the beach and along it

[1] See Chapter I, p. 32.
[2] Making of the *malanggans* described, pp. 211, 212.
[3] The *kerapo* leaf is used decoratively on all ritual occasions.
[4] Knives have been recently introduced. Men who have been away to work on plantations have them, and they were the most popular gift which I could make.

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The next day the cooking preparations proceed in earnest. Over a hundred women gather at Ponatlege and the adjoining hamlet to prepare the taro. The men are busy wrapping the fish in leaves and tending to the *liga*. The only idlers are a few old men, some of whom sit and play with the babies, while others are chatting in the men's house. The food is left on the *liga* overnight, and the next day sees the climax of the *malanggan* rites.

By the middle of the morning all the people of Lesu, Ambwa, and Langania, and many from the more distant villages of Libba and Tandis, and even a few from Fakmalak and Laummasong, both of different language groups, arrive at Ponatlege. Five or six hundred people are present. The men and women sit around in a large open space in the centre of the hamlet left free for dancing. The men sit on the side nearest the enclosure and the men's house, while the women are on the other side; even quite young children observe this distinction. On the side where the women sit a small temporary booth is erected to hold baked taro and bananas. This is for the women who, if they are hungry between dances, go in and eat. The men do not eat any of this food, but wait until the rites are over for the day. Everyone is anxious for the dancing to begin.

In come the first group of dancers, who are from Lesu. Each man wears an elaborate mask, a grass or rather leaf petticoat, and a red shirt. In the past, instead of the red shirt, which he now buys especially for this occasion from the trade store on a near-by plantation, he painted his body red from the waist up so that his identity might remain concealed. As each dancer enters, an old man blows from his hand some powdered lime, *lest*, in front of the performer, to make him dance well. The dancers enter in couples, except the first man who acts as a leader, escorting in each pair of dancers. When all have appeared, they dance together in circle and line formation. The dance is a very strenuous

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There is no magic in ordinary gardening, but when particularly large crops are desired for special feasts, such as those accompanying circumcision or *malanggan* rites, the planting of the taro is preceded by the making of magic. After the ground is cleared, but before the planting begins, the taro magician makes his magic. Then, if the taro is to be used for an especially large and important feast, the rain magician is called upon to make his magic. A large amount of rain is considered necessary for a good crop of taro.[1]

The first stage in gardening is the clearing of a piece of bush ground, between six and seven hundred square feet in size, always done by a man, assisted sometimes by his son. This takes about two weeks if a man and his son work every day. Sometimes all the men of the hamlet will assist. For instance, all the men of Penguli helped Noas clear bush ground for a new garden, and a feast was held later in the day in payment for their assistance. First, the trees and brush are cut down and left a few days to dry and then burned; after this the place for the fence is "marked" by putting vine along the ground, and holes are made in which the posts of the fence will later be inserted. These holes are made with a long stick, sharpened to a point. The posts are stuck in and afterward the cross-pieces of the fence are laid. Bamboo is the most common material used for fences. Vine is used to tie the logs to the posts. When the ground is completely cleared and the fence finished, the garden is ready to be planted.

Planting is the woman's task, and taro is the chief crop. Very few yams are planted in Lesu, but in other villages (Logagon, Lossuk, etc.) yams are planted along with the taro in large quantities. But even here taro remains the staple

[1] In an exceptionally dry season taro may be transplanted to moist ground along a river. Then if rain should come it may be moved back again to its original place.

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226 than others, and every man does not own a fishing-net. In the hamlet of Penguli it is Tukan who has the best reputation as a fisherman, while Ongas, who admits his lack of skill, is noted for his adeptness in house-building.

The time of day for fishing varies and depends upon the tide. If the tide is low during the early morning, that is the time for fishing. But when the tide does not recede until night, the reef and jutting points of land are lighted with fires, and some of the fishermen carry burning faggots with them so that they may the better see to ensnare the fish.

Fishing is carried on in a variety of ways: By a large group with nets (*uben*)[1] and spears; the setting of traps (*andak*), and the use of baskets to remove the fish from the traps; with the special outfit used to catch sharks; by the methods peculiar to the catching of a sea-worm, *beta*, which comes once a year.

The commonest method is with the *uben* and spear (*rur*). The latter is a bamboo pole with a pronged end. The *uben* consists of two parts—two bamboo poles with nets stretched across them.

[789] Magic must be made over a new *uben*, but there is no magic connected with its use, after the initial magic has been made. No magic is made over the spear. Fishing with the *uben* and spear requires a group of men, and on a good fishing day most of the men of the village will be out in the sea on a joint fishing expedition. One such expedition consisted of thirty men. Eight men had *ubens* and the remainder had spears. It was the older or middle-aged men who had the *ubens*, while the younger ones had spears. (It is expensive to have an *uben* made.) Close to the little totemic land, Jenusa, off the coast of Lesu, the men stood in water up to

[1] *Uben* is a word for net from another dialect, but is used universally over the island. *Kek* is the word in the Lesu dialect.

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527 It had to be cooked and taro had to be prepared to be eaten with it. Late in the day the men carried the baked *beta* and taro to the cemetery, where they had a feast. The women ate the *beta* on the beach, or at home, wherever they happened to be, and not in any communal fashion. It was considered a great delicacy and much enjoyed. Its appearance, catching, cooking, and eating was a noteworthy occasion in the everyday life of the community.

226 789 834 Shark-fishing is set off from other fishing because magic is a very integral part of it, because it is surrounded by many sexual taboos, and because it is a dangerous undertaking. A man is supposed to be sexually continent for a month before he goes shark-fishing, and should his wife be pregnant he cannot go at all. Four or five men may go out on an expedition, but only one man, the leader of the expedition, makes the magic, which is supposed to be effective for all of them. If a man does not know the proper magic he will pay another who does know it to lead the expedition for him. The shark belongs to the leader, and the others are paid with *tsera* for their share in the enterprise.

226 789 The implements for catching the shark are a large rattle made of shells, a *kut*, which is a curved piece of wood with a loop of rope in the centre, through which the shark is held fast, and a thick stick made of hard wood, *gula*, used to knock it over the head. While essential, these are only a part of the equipment. It is magic which is used to inaugurate the expedition and in every succeeding stage.

Very early in the morning the man who knows the shark magic brings his canoe to that part of the beach where there are no houses, and there places it on the sand lengthwise, with the outrigger seaward. He then makes a little fire on the beach by the side of the canoe, passes the *bungla* leaf through the fire, and recites a spell as he moves the leaf slowly over the canoe.

This particular shark magic came from Medina, and

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before that from Tabar, both different languages from Lesu. The spell itself is therefore in a very strange combination of all three languages, and as I knew but one of the languages I was only able to get a very free translation.

"Leaf, leaf, take away taboo" (repeated many times), followed by a muttered cry sounding like *kurkur kukukukuku*, which is supposed to be the shark saying that he cannot come because the man has eaten taboo food (i.e. food given to him by, or eaten in company with, a pregnant woman). Then, "Who has eaten the taboo food?" is supposed to be asked by the man. In answer he then calls out the names of little sharks (*kambilo, panduai, wasarasara, jaukabing*), who he says have eaten the taboo food. If these little sharks should come up, he will not catch them, but will wait for the big shark. When he has finished repeating the spell, he puts the leaf inside the canoe, which he covers with coconut leaves, and it remains like this all day. The spell and the rite are supposed to rid the man of the bad effect of having eaten with a pregnant woman, or having taken food from her, by transferring the act to the little sharks mentioned in the spell.

During the day his wife fills up the bamboo pole with drinking-water and places it in the canoe.

Late that afternoon the man takes a bunch of *tsil* leaves, dips their tips into the sea, bites off the tips, spits them out, and then, standing close to the canoe, strikes it with the leaves at intervals, saying:

Leaf, make many shark come up.
Many shark come. I go after them.
Shark, you come close to me.
Lauwemba (name of passage where shark is supposed to come),
I want to go close to you.
I go now, I come close to you (shark).

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226 789 The spell is repeated several times, always mentioning the name of a different "passage." The *tsil* leaf is now put on the sand under the canoe.

The magician now goes home and eats his evening meal, prepared by his wife. He goes to bed soon after he has finished eating and gets up the next morning before sunrise. Previous to this he has taken to the bush a large stone (about twelve inches long, eight inches wide, and four inches high) which he has found in a "passage" of water. This is just an ordinary stone, covered with green seaweed when it is in the water, but after it has been taken to the bush and a spell said over it, it becomes invested with the spirit of the shark, *tanuan beii*, spirit shark.

The magician also takes with him into the bush a small shell called *Pitun*, which is found on the banks of a river, and not on the seashore. One side, called *lauat*, represents the head of a small shark, and the other, called *balum balum*, the head of a big shark. (But to my eye there was no difference in the sides of the shell.) In one hand he carries the shell, and in the other a piece of long grass or weed called *Pelis*, which he puts around his middle finger, and in the same hand he carries a *goragora* leaf. He comes to the stone, *tanuan beii*, in the bush, and crouching in front of it he blows and says the following spell:

catch catch shark
shark comes up sun comes up

kitsisitsitsit sit sit sitsitsitsi
a call made also when shark is sighted.

This spell is repeated four times.

Then he scrapes the stone with the shell and puts the dirt which falls off into the *goragora* leaf, folds the leaf over, and ties it with the weed *Pelis*. This dirt wrapped

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inside the leaf is also supposed to be the shark's spirit, or *tanuan beii*.

Now he crouches again in front of the stone and puts both hands to his breast, one hand clasps the folded leaf and the other the shell; he rises slowly, sinks down again, and then sways slowly from side to side, still with bent knees, and says the following spell:

(suppose) I come up along passag
you (shark) come up
I am ready with rope you come up
I come up to the tree, you come up
(tree sticking up in water)
I come up to (name of big fish not shark)
you come up
I come up to sea bird, you come up
(suppose) sun comes up, you come up
(suppose) I come up to little trees
you come up

Then, still with his hands in the same position, he turns around and goes through a queer dancing step with bent legs.

The shell and the folded leaf are put in the canoe, and it is thought that the spirit shark, *tanuan beii*, is in the leaf, and thus accompanies him on the fishing trip.

Now he paddles out in the canoe. When he comes to the point of land jutting out to the sea he takes a previously prepared leaf and says a spell over it. The leaf is the *goragora* leaf, and inside of it is a *wula* leaf and a small stalk two or three inches long from a banana tree. The *wula* leaf represents the vagina and the banana stalk a penis, or rather they are supposed to be the spirit or *tanuan* of the vagina and penis, and these being wrapped together inside the leaf symbolize the act of copulation. The magician takes this small leaf bundle, says a spell

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226 789 831 over it, dips it into the sea, passes it between his legs under his testicles, and then "drinks" it. After this he throws it away. The "drinking" is supposed to rid him of the bad effects of taking food from a pregnant woman or of having eaten with one.[1] The spell contains the wish that many fish come up.

226 789 Now the magician paddles for some time and prepares the rope of the *kut*, to catch a shark. He also takes with him in the canoe the red leaf, *bang*. He dives from the canoe into the water and washes himself, to take away any dirt, and then, standing up in the water and holding on to the canoe with one hand, and with the leaf *bang* in the other, he recites the following spell:

Leaf (make shark) die
leaf (shark) you come up
leaf send shark
(this addressed to the spirit shark).

Then he throws the leaf into the sea and gets back into the canoe. Now he continues paddling. A shark is seen and the man gives the call *tsitsitsi*, then takes a dead fish fastened on a bamboo rod (a fish caught the day before and taken with him in the canoe) and puts the line with the fish on the end through the loop of the rope of the *kut*. He calls out "lauat," the name of the small head of the shark on the shell, but the shark does not rise to the bait and remains uncaught for the present. Then the man takes the *tsil* leaf which he has put into the canoe, dives overboard again and washes

[1] Note that most of the magic connected with shark-fishing is designed to get rid of the bad effect of eating with pregnant women or accepting food from them. I asked the magician why he eats with them, or takes food from them. He replied that it could not be helped. In casually strolling about the village one gives him a betel-nut, another a baked taro, etc. The magic is not supposed to make this food come out as faeces, but to remove the bad effect.

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himself, stands up and says a spell with the *tsil* leaf in his hand. The spell contains the same idea that he must rid himself of the bad effect of having eaten with pregnant women, and his washing is a rite to attain this end.

Now he gets back into the canoe and paddles on. Again he tries to catch the shark with the dead fish as a bait, and this time he succeeds. The shark comes through the loop, which the man pulls tightly, then he knocks the fish on the head with the *gula*, or thick stick. The shark is now dead. The man paddles back, and landing on the beach blows his conch shell to announce that he has returned with the shark. Later, it is wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*, and then there is a feast, as usual, in the cemetery. The shark is considered very choice food.[1]

COOKING

Cooking is an occupation of prime importance, and considered as such by the community. Although the men participate in several tasks connected with it, and although they prepare certain foods, it is essentially the women's work. It is usually done communally, and always so before ritual events, such as birth, initiation, marriage, death feasts, and the numerous minor ritual feasts. The group may range from ten to two hundred women, perhaps those of one or two hamlets, or all the women of several villages. Besides the communal cooking before ritual feasts, there is also the frequent communal cooking by the women of a hamlet, or sometimes two neighbouring ones. This is the normal way

[1] Shark-fishing is not being practised at present in the district where I lived. Farther up the coast shark-fishing expeditions are still being held, but I was unable to get there. The above account was given to me by the man who was known as the magician for shark-fishing and who had formerly led expeditions from Lesu. It was supplemented and checked with other accounts.

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had to borrow the *tsera* from his clan relatives to pay Garrili for the pig. When the feast was held, Kadecka was so ashamed of his hasty action that he stayed in the house most of the time, but all of his relatives and many other people from the village, as well as Garrili, were there. The latter stood up and made a speech, telling how he had been asked by Kadecka for the pig, remarking that he had planned to bring it when Kadecka's old mother died, but Kadecka had asked for it, and so here it was. Then one by one the important old men made speeches condemning Kadecka's action. They asked sternly why Kadecka did not wait until his mother died. He made no defence for his inexcusable action.

The whole affair caused a great deal of gossip, and public opinion was unanimous in condemning Kadecka. A week later he "signed on" when a recruiter for native labour came through the village, and no one expressed any regret when he left. It was obviously an escape from an intolerable social position.

Besides pigs, other objects, such as ornaments, spears, drums, and canoes, are sold for set prices which never vary, and the payments are made in public. These objects, however, do not form the ordinary objects of trade; first, because sometimes they are inherited, and, secondly, because one such object, like an ornament, a drum, a spear, lasts a lifetime. Pigs, on the other hand, are constantly being sold because they are eaten continually at ritual feasts.

PAYMENTS FOR SERVICES

It is obvious that one cannot accumulate wealth through trading in pigs or any other objects, for there is no profit. But the rendering of services, magical or otherwise, that is another story. The possession of magic is the most important source of wealth. Among these people magic is all powerful

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and is used all the time. If you want to catch a woman or pig, the proper magic must be made. If you want to go on a shark-fishing expedition, or to cause the death of your enemy, again the proper magic must be made. What is even more important, from the economic point of view, is that magic is a private possession in the hands of the few, and is performed only for payment. The price for the performance of the various kinds of magic is as follows:

	Tsera
War magic	10
Black magic	10
Taro magic	1
Magic to detect black magician	2
Rain magic	2 to 4
Love magic	½ to 1
Abortive magic	½ to 1
Magic over dog to catch pig	2 to 4
Magic over new *uben* (fishing-net)	½
Magic to make a pig fat	½

The power of the magic lies in the spell, which the magician guards closely. The rite is performed openly for anyone to see, but the spell is muttered so that no one else can learn it. When I received magical spells from informants they had always to be assured of complete privacy, and often a magician would look closely around the vicinity of the house to make sure that no one was within hearing distance. The knowledge of the spells is a source of income, and should the knowledge become widespread the income would dwindle.

The rule for the acquirement of magical knowledge is that it comes from the maternal uncle, but as a matter of actual practice—from accounts of all the magicians questioned—it was received more frequently from the father, and sometimes the mother. The magician, when quite old, will teach his maternal nephew or son the spell, and the latter makes a payment for it. This initial cost is soon covered by a few performances, and after that there is pure profit, and a more

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Bunglä: Zingiber (ginger). Used to cure swellings of skin; magic said over the leaves, which are then chewed and expectorated over the swollen part of the body. This, it is believed, makes the skin hot and the pain disappears. In India it is used as an aromatic stimulant, carminative, and stomachic; externally, as a local stimulant and rubefacient. We use mustard, which is a bit stronger than ginger, in the same way as a counter-irritant.

A large number of folk-tales and myths, handed down orally from one generation to another, form the literature of these people of Lesu. The tales contain moral precepts, theories of origin, accounts of semi-historical and imaginary happenings, and are counted as knowledge in this community. They are told in their proper context throughout the book.

MAGIC

The Lesu man's knowledge of his natural world may seem very inadequate to us, who have accumulated a more extensive, although still very incomplete, information. Yet limited as the information of these Melanesians may be, the Lesu man is well integrated with his natural world, because he thinks he controls it through magic. For whenever the Lesu man or woman feels uncertain of his own ability to control a situation he uses magic. To control the weather, to ensure a good crop, to make certain of a good catch of fish, to have success in his courtship of a woman, he has recourse to magic.[1]

MAGICIANS

Both men and women are magicians, although the former predominate. In Lesu there are thirteen people

[1] The pragmatic function of magic was first brought out by Professor Malinowski in his studies of the Trobriand Islanders. See his "Magic, Science, and Religion," in *Science, Religion, and Reality*. Ed. by J. Needham (1921).

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practising magic of one kind or another, and only two are women. Of these, one knows love magic and the other medical spells. Magical knowledge is inherited, and the rule is that it be handed down in the female line, and thus stays within the clan. But in tracing how each magician received his magic, I found that it came just as often from a father as a maternal uncle or other clan relative. A magician makes a payment to the person teaching him the spells, and thereafter he guards his knowledge carefully, for as has already been shown the knowledge of magic is an economic asset.[1] Only one type of magic is usually known to a magician; for example, the rain magician will not know love magic. The exception is medical magic, which is more widely known, and so a man who is skilled in love spells may also know a few spells connected with medicine.

The thirteen magicians of Lesu form no separate class, and except for the additional prestige and income they receive they cannot be differentiated from other people. They participate fully in the daily routine of work, and a magician mends his house, clears the bush ground, brings in firewood, and looks after the baby, just as does the non-magician. A woman might know magic, but this does not exempt her from the daily toil of scraping taro. Both temperamentally and mentally the magician appears no different from any other native. He has merely inherited certain spells which he performs for himself when he needs them, or when he is paid by someone for his services. He does not seem to be of any particular type of personality. The magicians of Lesu varied widely in temperament. Some were serious and quiet, others were gay; some were exceptionally good craftsmen, and others were only mediocre. But all magicians, and non-magicians too, were equal in the sincerity of their belief in the efficacy of the magic.

The power of the magic lies in the muttered spell. The

[1] See chapter on Work.

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rite is of minor significance, and sometimes it does not exist, but always there are the essential spoken words. A combination of words are powerful enough to inspire the Melanesian with confidence in his undertakings and enable him to think that he can control the natural world.

TARO MAGIC

Taro magic is not performed in the ordinary everyday gardening, but only when an unusually large crop is needed for a ritual feast, such as is held at the time of the initiation of young boys. In the first stage of gardening (the clearing of the bush ground and the building of a fence) there is no magic; it begins just before the planting is initiated.

The magician has the *kerapo* leaf twined in his hair and stuck in his armband (*Biuk*). The bridge of his nose is covered with white lime and the rest of his face is smeared with black cinders from the fire. He walks around the garden holding the *tsuri* leaves in his hand and striking the ground and the fence with the leaves. He sings:

Tsuringo bām bilido
Meāira kārasili
Bām bilido tsuringo.

Leaf of the taro be tall
Anything bad (injurious) go way
Taro have tall leaf.

The idea is that the taro leaf should grow as tall as the long *tsuri* leaf.

After he finishes muttering this spell the magician throws the leaf outside of the garden. It is thought that it would harm the garden if it remained there.[1]

[1] I am not quite sure about the reason for this. The general idea seems to be that the *tsuri* leaf belongs to the bush and not to the garden. It may be that they are afraid it will take root in the garden and be an extra weed.

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789 539 Then the magician takes another *tsuri* leaf and sings:

Tsi tanga lā laman
Lenuriadei tsuri
Taingamo tana lā laman.

We go to the gardens
The clouds sing out (thunder)
All the men go to the gardens.

The leaf is then stuck in the ground, just inside the fence, and in the place that is regarded as the entrance.

Now the magician, holding a stalk of taro, the *bang* leaf, and the *bungla* leaf in his hands, kneels down and mutters:

Bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet
bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet.

Bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet
bungla tapapuet
talutla papuet

(Repeated several times.)

The leaf grows big
Talutla (name of a big fish) grows big.

Freely, it is that the taro will be large just as are the leaf and fish. Then the taro stalk with two leaves, which are supposed to have a beneficial influence over the taro, are stuck in a hole in the ground.

Now the magician takes the leaf, *lil*, resembling a long grass, and mutters:

talin pitipiti
Uma pitipiti.

talin pitipiti
Uma pitipiti.

(Repeated several times.)

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Talin[1] grow quickly
Garden grow quickly.

The magician puts the *talin* leaves in the same hole with the taro stalk, the *bungla* and *bang* leaves. All the above magic is said over one stalk of taro, which the magician plants in the middle of the garden. The remainder of the taro is planted by the women without any magical rites.

Some time later, when the weeds are pulled up, as well as the extra stalks of taro, leaving only the shortest stalk, the magician mutters the final spell:

jagagikip ilima
jagagikip bum bula
jagagikip ilima
jagagikip bum bula.

(Repeated many times.)

I break the *ilima* (name of a weed)
I break the root of the taro.

This concludes the taro magic.

ANALYSIS OF SPELLS

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Running through this spell, as in all the other spells, are the wish fulfilment and imitative motifs. First there is the wish that the taro grow tall, just as the *tsuri* leaf does. Then there is the wish for rain. (In a rain spell given in Appendix I the sound of thunder is imitated.) More good wishes and examples for the taro to imitate now follow. The taro is to grow as fat as a very large fish, and to grow quickly like a particular weed which is known to grow very fast; and finally, when the taro is partly grown, the weeds which have come with it are symbolically pulled out, and finally in the same symbolic manner the taro root itself is pulled out for the harvest. The statement of the result

[1] *Talin* is the plural of *lil*.

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desired and the imitative wish are thought to help bring a successful crop. But a native knows well that he cannot just make magic, and then neglect his garden and expect to have a good crop. He works industriously, clearing the ground, planting, weeding, etc., and the magic is to augment these physical efforts and to control for his benefit those factors of chance which are present in any farming. The result is to give him confidence that his crop will be good. He will now work the better, that he has assurance against the well-known odds of gardening.

Usually a single word is sufficient to indicate a whole idea. Complete sentences are seldom used. Merely the allusion to a certain leaf indicates the desire for the taro stalk to grow as tall as this leaf. The spells are handed down by word of mouth, and whether in this process only the essential words were kept and whether the original spells were more complete I could not determine. The problem is a particularly difficult one, because many of the spells were in an ancient and now obsolete language, and it was therefore impossible to translate many of them.

Spells of love and fishing magic have been given in another context.[1] In the love magic made by a man, the wish that the magic affect the girl and make her desire him is repeated over and over again. When speed is desired, the metaphor of the swiftly moving phalanger is used. In the love magic made by the woman, frequently occurs the wish that the man follow her, and that she will be able to attract him. After the magic is made, neither the man nor the woman neglects anything to make themselves attractive. But the magic has given them the necessary confidence to attain their desires.

Similarly in the shark magic,[2] there is the wish to take away the evil effects of having eaten with a pregnant woman, followed by a wish for the shark to come close to

[1] See chapters on Sexual Life and Work. [2] See pp. 172–177.

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the boat, and the final wish that the shark be caught and killed. The fisherman works hard to catch his fish, but with hard work alone he would not venture to catch such a difficult and dangerous fish as the shark. For this the help of magic is needed.

Examples of other magical spells are given in Appendix I. The principle underlying them all is the same. In rain magic the magician audibly wished for and then imitated rain. To make a dog be a good catcher of pigs he is likened to a shark who swims all around the sea, and the wish is then made that the dog will run around the bush in the same way until he catches a pig. If a man wants his domestic pig to grow fat, besides feeding the animal well he makes a spell containing the wish that the pig will grow as large as a certain tree well known for its enormous size. In war magic are expressed the desire for the enemy's spears to be deflected, to have the enemy go mad, and finally that they go down in defeat.

BLACK MAGIC

Black magic, or magic to kill, is of a slightly different nature from the so-called white magic given above. It is extremely difficult to get any information on black magic, because no one will confess to knowing it. It is the most secret of possessions, and a man never gives it up until just before he dies, and then he will teach it to his maternal nephew, his brother, or his son.[1]

One kind of black magic, the spell for which I was unable to secure, is made over a leaf, which is then placed so that the man against whom the magic is directed must look at it. After that the magician throws the leaf in the fire, and it is thought that the man will die.

Another way of making black magic is to make the

[1] For texts and further description of magic see Appendix I.

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MAKING TARO MAGIC

[facing p. 304]

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and who has the reputation for being able to detect black magicians. Ongas gave him some of the dead infant's hair and a preliminary payment of two *tsera*. All this happened about two years before my visit, but nothing had happened. So now Ongas took the long trip to see Ulak again and demand the return of the two *tsera*. Ulak returned the currency, and said that the child had not died of black magic, but of a "sickness from the mission," the native way of describing the white man's diseases. Ulak thus found an excuse when his own magic failed.

There is magic to counteract black magic, and the following spell is an example of this. A woman was thought to be ill because someone had made black magic against her. A magician sat near her and, rolling some powdered white lime between his palms, muttered:

ulas ulas periluma
ulas periluma
Lungei.

(Repeated many times.)

Lest, lest go into the nose (of sick woman)
Lest go into nose
Get up (freely, soon she will be better and get up).

Ulas is the name used for *lest* (powdered lime) in this spell.

It is easy to see that magic, white or black, is no vague or haphazard phenomenon, but is instead a very concrete way of attempting to control those situations in which chance plays a large part. Weather, fishing, love, crops, sickness, war, etc., are all uncertain, and cannot be completely controlled by man. The Melanesian in Lesu realizes this, and if he did nothing about it the consequent lack of confidence would be a serious handicap to his success in any of these undertakings. Also, a lack of confidence is a most unpleasant sensation. But magic, which is in its essence a spoken wish for success, saves the day. A devout Christian

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789 meets the same situation with prayer, which is not dissimilar in form, in that it too contains a wish for success. Magic might be considered as both realistic and non-realistic at the same time, the latter because it provides a screen between the native and his real world, and the former because it successfully meets a situation where confidence is lacking.

RELIGION

111 Any distinction between religion and magic must be more or less arbitrary. Malinowski's definition which gives "magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfilment of their purpose,"[1] is a very useful one for the classification of behaviour, and is obviously intended for such, as it defines both phenomena in terms of "acts." But from a more strictly psychological point of view there seems to be little differentiation between religion and magic. The individual lives in a world which he cannot completely understand and control, and it is to this perplexing phenomena that he must make an adjustment, the form of which is determined by his particular culture. Magic and religion both give him the necessary security against the uncertainties of human existence. Religion is both a set of beliefs and a series of acts; but in a primitive society, such as the one in Lesu, it is not embodied in any one institution (such as a church), but is instead diffused throughout all of life, and is an attitude as well as behaviour. Religion seeks an identification of the individual with his world, which in turn brings him security. This identification is not contained in any one act or ritual alone, but pervades the whole of life. The fundamental division of the society into the

[1] Malinowski, B., Essay, "Magic, Science, and Religion," in *Science, Religion, and Reality*. Ed. by J. Needham (1926), p. 81.

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183 I understood this, and was rather surprised when I somewhat naïvely indicated the exceptions.

183 In order to bring out the differences between the social
591 and individual patterns of behaviour, it is necessary to take concrete instances of the former and describe the individual variations from each one. There is, for instance, the general rule of behaviour that a man upon marriage should come to live in the hamlet and village of his wife. And many men follow this pattern, but there are others—a minority—who for personal reasons do not. There are examples of men who settle in their wife's hamlet and later move away for personal reasons. Kaptan, who came originally from a bush village and settled in his wife's hamlet, Onel, grew very irritated at the way his wife's relatives constantly interfered with his affairs, and so left Onel and built a house for himself and wife at Penguli, where a very good friend of his lived.

Another man went to live in his wife's village about thirty-five miles away from his own, and then divorced her because he was tired of walking back and forth to his own village, where he went for rites, funerals, and other important occasions. After his divorce he married a woman from his own village.

183 The rule of maternal descent, that a child belongs to
611 the clan and moiety of his mother, is rigid, and as far as I know never broken. But a corollary of the same rule, namely, that property, material and immaterial, stay within the clan, is frequently not kept. Sola, who is famed as a fishing magician, learned his magic from his father; and Bullagot, the old rain magician, says that he will teach his magic before he dies to his son. As far as I could gather, it is merely personal preference in these cases that decides the line of inheritance.

183 The belief in magic is, however, quite universal. Everyone
789 appears not only to use magic on the appropriate occasions,

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but also to sincerely believe in it. This is one social pattern in which everyone seems to participate.

Kinship patterns of behaviour have always been supposed to be most rigid, but these, too, on close examination, reveal many variations, which appear to be based mainly on individual desires and temperamental differences. It happens but rarely that a man marries his mother's brother's daughter (the preferred marriage), but he does follow the pattern sufficiently to usually marry someone in the generation below him. But there are even exceptions to this. One man in Lesu married a woman in the generation above him—his mother's mother's brother's daughter, who is in the same generation as his mother. There are many reasons for the non-marriage of the cross-cousin's daughter. She may be married already; the parents of either her or the man may have arranged another betrothal very early in their infancy; or either the girl or the man may simply prefer another mate.

Again, there is the pattern of behaviour between a man and his sister which, among other things, does not permit a man to make sexual jokes about a woman in front of her brother. Yet, as has been described, the old man Towi is constantly doing just this, much to the disgust of others. Other natives, in talking about it, say that it is an unpleasant peculiarity of Towi's which they accept but cannot understand. He is a moderately important old man in his clan, but his love of what to the native would correspond to our obscenity detracts somewhat from his prestige. But he goes gaily on.

We know also from folk-tales and from stories about men who have lived recently that the incest taboo between members of the same moiety is occasionally broken. Individual desires thus sometimes break through the most rigid and the very strongest social pattern of behaviour, even though death is the penalty. Another kinship pattern is that

APPENDIX I

ADDITIONAL MAGIC NOT INCLUDED IN THE TEXT

RAIN AND SUN MAGIC[1]

ALL the men and boys of the village accompany the magician to the bush. They stop by a pool of water and the men surround the pool, waving the narrow *tsil* leaf in their hands. The magician mutters the following spell:

Loungda merima
Bei ruu waii ruu ili
Loungda merima
Lounda siliokow
O O O O O O O O O O O
Bei ruu ruu ili
(repeated many times).

Black clouds
Thunder thunder
Black clouds
Lightning
O O O O O O O O O O O
(noise made in back of throat to represent thunder)
Thunder. . . .

The *tsil* leaves and another leaf, *tsaba*, are wrapped in a bundle, the latter being on the inside, and put on top of the pool from which twigs and all debris are removed. The magician now holds a *tsil* leaf in his hands and sings over it.

[1] This magic was secured under difficulties. It is the possession of only one old man in Lesu, who is old and feeble. While all the magic is always muttered almost inaudibly, I was usually able to have private sessions with the magician when he would give me the spells. But in the case of rain magic I was able to get only parts of it out loud, and the magician was too feeble to be pressed for more. The sun magic (from the same man) is more complete.

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789 (This spell I was unable to get.) The bundle remains floating on the pool. Now all the men go away, but the magician remains by the pool. He blackens his hands with ashes, so that they represent dark clouds, and then he waves his arms. Now he bends down and puts his hands on the bundle of leaves and makes a low noise in the back of his throat to represent thunder. After this he leaves the pool, goes to the beach, again blackens his face with ashes from the fire, rubs the black charcoal inside a large seashell, and makes at the same time a low noise representing thunder. When the bundle of leaves which was left in the pool begins to stink, then the rain is supposed to come.

To make the rain go away and to bring out the sun, the magician blackens his face as in the previous rite. But he performs the magic alone and the other men are absent. He folds the *kubui* leaf into a cone shape, puts ashes from the fire and a small bone from a dead man inside it, fastens it with a small twig, and puts it all inside a large seashell, the inside of which he has first smeared with ashes. As he does this he makes a low noise, imitating thunder, and then sings the following spell:

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Naulungali naulungali
Rungali Rungali Rungali
Ye Ye Meli Rungali O O O O.

Leung Ledali
Gasin Singatail
Gasin Jenusa.

Very freely this spell means that the rain will come from Tabar and then over Jenusa (an island near by) and then to Lesu. This is the direction in which rain clouds usually do come. The bone of a dead man is used in the belief that the *tinuato* (ghost) of the man will call out to the rain to come down.

Then after this the magician takes another leaf, *Kerani*,

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and he stands up on the seashore and waves the leaf backwards and forwards in imitation of chasing the rain away, and sings the following spell:

Tsilamansti
Läkunstel
Unlamunsti Turu
Nämäla malung punoma
Unasteri punaru
Bull lenith tseri.

Make it die (referring to rain)
Along road of rain (route of rain clouds, described in previous spell)
Make it die Tabar (Turu, another name for Tabar)
Make it disappear distant places
Sweep (the rain away from) mountains
Sweep rain from sky.

After this spell is finished the leaf is hung over the fire, and as the leaf burns and disappears so also will the rain disappear.

MAGIC TO MAKE A DOG CATCH PIGS

The magician when performing this spell has no decorations. He mutters the spell over a half taro, which he then gives to the dog to eat.

Lembei jangenin
Lewulawul jangenin.

Shark eats
Dog eats.

The comparison with the shark is used because the shark is a good fighter and it is desired that the dog fight the pig.

Now the magician pulls the dog's tail and mutters over it:

Jelusa lembei
Jelusa wulawul

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Jelusa lembei
Jelusa wulawul
(repeated several times).

As the shark swims all around the sea, so will the dog run all around the bush until he finds a pig.

The magician sticks the inner prong of the coconut leaf into the root of the *bungla* plant, over which a spell has been said previously, puts the prong to his nose and the root in his mouth, and then touches the dog's nose and mouth with them.

The spell over the *bungla* root is:

Ringa gă suk
Imbaru nemaraanem
Nuga bol.

The idea behind this spell is a bit obscure. However, it refers to the fact that some man was cross because he was not given his share of a pig at a feast. He has called upon the ghost of a man who died in warfare to make the dog lazy. The above spell is directed against the ghost, who will then disappear, and the dog will again become energetic and hunt pigs.

Literally the spell is:

Spell make him go
Him who died in war.
I want pig.

A spell is now said over the dog's nose, in order to make him smell the pigs.

Lembei jakidik
Lawulawul jakidik.

Then the magician blows through his nose, and this "wind" reaches the dog and is supposed to enhance his smelling power. *Jakidi* is the name used in the spell for the small insect *turinpaudik*, which bites the skin of the people. The

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idea is that as the shark and the insect both know how to fight, so also will the dog know how to smell his victim.

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FISHING MAGIC

The magic to catch sharks has already been given in another context. The following fishing magic is said over new fishing implements before they are used.

MAGIC OVER NEW LINE AND HOOK

The magician sits on a stone and rolls the seaweed, *muh*, between his palms and mutters:

Muh muh muh muh
Mura mura
Oilin oilin
Mura nio.

Muh muh muh muh
Mura mura
Oilin oilin
Mura nio

(repeated many times).

Mura and *oilin* are names of snakes. Translated freely, the spell is, the snake calls me and I call *muh*. Then the magician calls the name of the fish *lengula*:

Lengula, muh muh muh
Mura mura mura lengula.

Lengula, muh muh muh
Mura mura mura lengula.

This refrain is repeated several times, always ending with the name of some fish.

Now the magician dips the *muh* into the sea, and then into his mouth, takes it out, touches his temples, back, and

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shoulders with the wet weed, the water from which runs down his back. He puts the *muh* on the sand.

Then he takes a leaf from the *keramik* tree and holding it over the fishing-line, which has been stuck in the sand, mutters:

Keramik telu
Telu luga kukut
Telu telu lugali
Keramik telu lugali
Telu lugali.

The leaf is dipped in the sea, and dripping with water it is passed over the fishing-line, touching and wetting the line. If this leaf is dipped in the sea and then chewed it has the power of making a person vomit. The spell invokes the leaf to cause vomiting (*telu*).[1]

Now the magician takes the *lembän* leaf, and waving it over the line says the following spell:

Lembän umenlendo siliaut
Lembän umenlendo siliaut
(this line repeated many times)
Peituk umenlendo siliaut
Malus umenlendo siliaut
Ladawin umenlendo siliaut
Towi umenlendo siliaut
O telenga, telenga telenga telenga
Lemi mango rok
Lemi mango tuin
Lemi mango pura.

Leaf wash the rope (line)
Leaf wash the rope (line)
(this line repeated many times)
Peituk you wash the rope
Malus you wash the rope

[1] My notes are not clear as to the connection between vomiting and successful fishing.

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Ladawin you wash the rope
Towi you wash the rope
Sea eagle, sea eagle, sea eagle, sea eagle
Give me head
Give me bone
Give me piece of fish.

Peituk, Malus, Ladawin, and Towi are the names of four dead men who were clan relatives of the magician. The spell appears to be an invocation to the ghosts (*tinuato*) of the four men to help look out for fish. The *muh* leaf is now rubbed on the rope.

After this the magician takes the line and walks out to sea with it and says the following spell:

Jäteti wilua
Jäteti mäsuro.

Jäteti wilua
Jäteti mäsuro

(repeated many times very fast).

I call the ghosts (*wilua* is another name for *tinuato*)
I call the fish.

Now the magician sits in a canoe, and putting the line in the water, says the following:

Kasei kora katawata pei mungasua
Lamelan loak
Loak tapin
Loak ala Laummasong
Lima ala Laummasong
Kunduk ala Laummasong
Lima ala Ambwa
Kunduk ala Ambwa
Tsibintaluk ala Ambwa
Kupik ala Ambwa
Bolun ala Onel
Kauwanda ala Panat
Kuan ala Penguli
Bungbunga ala Sapone
Inin ala Tarengam.

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What fish has broken my rope
Just as Loak
Loak was cut up
Loak went to Laummasong
Arm went to Laummasong
Leg went to Laummasong
Arm went to Ambwa
Buttocks went to Ambwa
Stomach went to Onel
Thigh went to Panat
Head went to Penguli
Breast went to Sapone
Neck went to Tarengam.

Loak is the name of a man who was killed with a stone and eaten when Balluk the magician was a young boy. The spell refers to the cutting up of the body and the division of his body among the hamlets and near-by villages. This is the end of the magic over a new line.

In connection with fishing magic there is another rite after fish are caught. Then a half of a fish and a half taro are put in the *liga* (pile of hot stone in which food is baked) and the names of dead clan relatives called and invited to come and eat the half fish and taro. It is known that the fire consumes the half fish and taro, but in some vague way it is thought that the *tinuato* of the men mentioned eat it and that these *tinuato* will then assist them next time they go fishing. This rite is practised, regardless of whether the fishing is by *uben*, line, or any other method.

MAGIC TO MAKE A PIG GROW FAT

The spell is said over the *bemben* leaf, which is then given to the pig to eat with his taro.

Bemben bemben
Bol bol
Ilisangahol. unga bol italot melen bemben.

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Freely, it is that the pig should become as the *bemben* tree, which grows very large.

WAR MAGIC

Magic is made over a *mahlum*, which resembles an imitation beard and is made of numerous strands of vine (*alah*) tied together and fastened behind the ears of the warrior. Before the war the *mahlum* is held over a spear and the following spell recited:

Maluh tsingami
Maluh tsingami,
Maluh tsingami
Pati tugalo
Gilassu sublow
Gotän gililia
Pinsinnau tigul
Pinsinnau abuk
Pinsinnau belei
Pinsinnau tsiltsil
Pinsinnau korot
Pinsinnau kakâbuwa
ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka
ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ka ei.

Maluh cry out
Maluh cry out
Maluh cry out
Come close
Hold good (the spear)
Shoot now
Spear tigul
Spear abuk
Spear belei
Spear tsiltsil
Spear korot
Spear kakubuwa
ka ka ka ka, etc.

(this is the cry given as the warrior plunges his spear into the enemy).

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Pinsinnau is the general name for spear. *Tigul*, *abuk*, etc., are names for particular spears each of which has its own name.

The following spell is supposed to take away the effect of eating with a pregnant woman, having sexual intercourse, or looking at menstrual blood, all of which are taboo to a man just before going to war. While the spell is made by only one man, it is supposed to be effective for all those going to war.

The magician touches his breast with the *tsil* leaf and says the following:

Papaelaesa burenten
Papaelaesa burenten orji
Tsiga mutung ladan
Papaelaesa umba luba
Papaelaesa aeina lessi uli.

It was impossible to translate the first two lines, and I was told that they were words from another language which was presumably used a long time ago. The last three lines refer respectively to a child in the womb, to intercourse, and to menstruation. The following war magic was given to me by an old man who has the reputation for having been one of the leading fighters in the past:

Larangăm imbala diwas
Kararuri rusili
Tarumbi mundei
Mundei iabil.

Mum la
Una a totorli
Una diwas ilua.

I was unable to get the first four lines of this spell translated because they are also in a forgotten language of the past. The second part, beginning with *mum*, is:

Father go
Make them (the enemies) insane
You bring them to me.

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This is an invocation to the ghost of a dead father to make the enemy mad, that is to bring them to such a condition that they do not know what they are doing, and so they will be delivered into the warriors' hands. Ghosts are supposed to have this power of causing insanity. It is interesting to note that this spell is designed to make the enemy weaker rather than the warrior strong. The following magic given by the same man is designed to deflect the enemy's spear:

Gila gila gila gila
Gila matauo
Gila oro mulini
Gila oro mulini
Gila oro mulini
Gila micheulel micheule apak
Gila micheulel nau
Gila micheulel bulei
Gila micheulel kowo
Gila micheulel sitongen
Gila micheulel sassonbwa.

Gila is the name of a small bird, which because it is the same colour as a green leaf is almost invisible. When it is heard at night it is considered a sign of fighting the next day.

Gila gila gila gila
Gila (I) do not die
Gila turn spear aside
Gila turn spear aside
Gila turn spear aside
Gila destroy (enemy's spear)

(*apak*, *nau*, etc., are all names of particular spears).

Another war spell is:

Pi' lälul
Lita malul malul bil.

Pi' lälul
Lita malul malul bil

(repeated many times).

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Pi' is the name of a war mask associated with the *malanggan*. The mask is sometimes worn by a warrior and has a very frightening effect on the opponent. Even the mention of its name in a spell is supposed to be sufficient to make the enemy weak and afraid. The spell is:

Pi' you go
Make them (the enemy) weak.

Pi' you go
Make them (the enemy) weak
(repeated many times).

The following spell is said over a *bungla* leaf, which is then stuck in the ground of the enemy's village and is supposed to make them lazy and disinclined to fight. The enemy will talk about fighting, but it will be postponed from day to day and nothing will happen. It is considered that the spell is addressed to the ghosts of the magician's clan relatives, who will bring the desired effect about.

Bunglin simbasimba ărup
Bunglin simbasimbaᵉărup

(repeated many times).

Bungla leaf chatter nothing
Bungla leaf chatter nothing

(repeated many times).

A similar spell is made over the *bungla* leaf which a man who is going to a strange and distant village and is afraid that he will be killed carries with him.

Iru commici widi
upanga panga.

You do not like to kill the tall man
planted (the *bungla* leaf)
morning.

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The idea is that the strangers are not to kill him because he is so big, and there is an allusion to someone who is so tall that his head is in the clouds. I was unable to get any information on the allusion.

MEDICAL MAGIC

As has already been shown, there is medicine without magic, which, however, is an accompaniment of a spell and rite of some medical practice. The following magic was made for a woman who had been ill after giving birth to a dead child. The magician was a woman.

She takes two small stones from the beach at the hamlet of Pencil, where in the origin myth of Tsenabonpil the pig was baked. The stones are supposed to come from the original *liga* in which the pig was cooked. The magician puts the two stones in her own *liga*, and when they are hot she lifts them out with bamboo sticks and mutters over them:

Jä slorka tsenänis Murri
Jä slorka tsenänis bol Murri
Jä slorka tsenänis kapun Murri.

I cook the spirit of Murri
I cook the spirit pig of Murri
I cook the spirit phalanger of Murri.

Then she puts the stones in her house, and later on another day takes them out, and waving them in the air near the sick woman says the following:

Jälu i bol anis
Jälu i kamkam anis
Jälu i tsitsi anis.

I catch the spirit pig
I catch the spirit opossum
I catch the spirit snake.

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Now she puts the stones in an empty coconut shell and says:

Nämbeseiin la la la la la la la
Nämbeseiin la la la la la la la

(repeated several times).

Tide catch them (stones) go go go go go go go.
(Freely, the sea and tide will carry you out.)

Murri, the name used in the beginning of the spell, is the name of a man of the Palila clan. It is thought that the *tsinanis* or spirit of this clan is inside of the sick woman and causing her illness. The evidence of this is her swollen eyes. The *tsinanis* of her own clan would not be inside of her, for the latter is friendly and would not harm her. But the *tsinanis* of another clan may be an enemy to her. (The Palila clan and the clan of the sick woman, Sinpop, are both of the same moiety.) The spell is designed to drive out the *tsinanis* from the ill woman.

MAGICAL STONE TO PROTECT HOUSE

One man has in his house a large heavy stone called *bäk*, which is also the word for taro. The stone is carefully hidden in a basket hanging on the wall. If a new house is made, the stone completely covered up is removed to the new house, and its removal is the occasion for a feast. The man who now has the stone inherited it from his father, who in turn received it from his father, and so on, always coming down in the paternal line. The original owner has given the stone the ability to attract food to the house and to thus keep away famine and want.

Another man has a similar stone in his house, which besides this function has also the power to cause anyone who steals food from the house to die. The thief's hair